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Principles and Prospects of the Friends of Peace.

A

DISCOURSE

PRONOUNCED BEFORE THE
HARTFORD COUNTY PEACE SOCIETY,

DECEMBER, 25, 1833.

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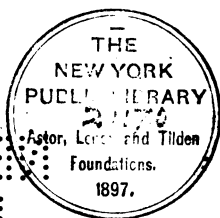
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DISCOURSE.

IN appearing before this assembly, I presume I am not called to plead the cause of Peace in the presence of its opposers. I take it for granted that I address none who would regret the establishment of universal and perpetual peace. Doubtless there are such persons. The splendid illusions of war have not lost their power over the imagination, and the admiration of military glory still misleads many a heart. But the greatest portion of enlightened and benevolent men unquestionably look upon war as a melancholy spectacle of human nature, involving boundless miseries and crimes; shocking to the sensibilities, and at variance with the just and gentle spirit of Christianity. At the same time however, the exertions of the Friends of Peace are not seconded by the general and active sympathy, which they deserve. This is indeed no more than might naturally be foreseen. All attempts to effect great changes in long settled opinions and customs, are commonly feeble in their first movements, and slow in their progress.

The Friends of Peace are indeed aiming at an immense revolution. They wish to put an end to a custom which has existed from the beginning of the world;—a custom which has its root in the strongest human passions—is wrought into the frame-work of every government, confirmed by centuries of habit, and upheld by many prejudices of interest and false association. Now doubtless what chiefly prevents a general and hearty co-operation with Peace Societies, is a want of faith and hope. It is seen indeed in different forms. In *some*, it is an apathy resulting from the unreflecting habit of acquiescing in things that always have been, as things that always must be. Such persons, from peculiarity of mental and moral organization seem incapable of being kindled into a hopeful and active sympathy with any great enterprise, at its outset. In *others*, an equal incapacity of compre-

hending any thing but the past, seems to be united with an inability of feeling any *respect* for a lofty project, until indubitable tokens of its success compel their homage. These men imagine they display their *superior sagacity* by confidently predicting the failure of every great enterprize. They therefore look, not only with *incredulity*, but with something of *contempt*, upon the exertions of the Friends of Peace. They view us as dreamers—very harmless dreamers indeed—but still a set of dreamers, exalted with the visionary project of putting an end to a custom indissolubly wrought into the whole texture of human society. It is not worth our while, for, in the present stage of our enterprize, it would be fruitless, to attempt to set such men right.

There is however, still another class, of larger views and better feelings, who would rejoice to see the evils of war brought to an end, by the general adoption of some pacific mode of settling national differences, but who doubt altogether its being practicable. The causes of war exist in the corrupt passions of human nature. These causes must, they think, continue to render war in some cases lawful as a *defensive* measure, and the less of two evils,—at all events, a necessary evil. While the moral elements of war exist, it must, they conceive, be regarded, like many of the tremendous agencies of nature, as an ordination of Providence, necessary for the establishment of *ideas* whose general acknowledgment could not, as human nature is, otherwise be expected, and for the vindication of *principles*, of infinite importance to mankind, whose rightful supremacy could not otherwise be secured. War, they think, can never be made to cease without some signal intervention of the Deity. In short, while they have the highest respect for our principles, and wish well to our object, they despair of our success, and are compelled to regard our plans as chimerical.

This general statement, I believe, includes the most material considerations which go to prevent a hopeful and active interest in Peace Societies, on the part of many enlightened and benevolent men, who, for the rest, deplore the evils of war, and would be glad to see any prospect of their being brought to an end. These opinions certainly deserve a respectful examination. The friends of Peace ought to embrace every opportunity of *explain-*

ing their principles and the grounds of their hopes. This I propose to do as I may be able within the limits prescribed by this occasion. I shall follow the general course of thought suggested by the objections to which I have adverted.

In the first place, then, we by no means underrate the difficulties which lie in the way of our enterprize.

We have no thought that we can make war to cease simply by exhibiting it as an unnatural and unchristian spectacle; or by showing that every war implies guilt, at least on one side, and involves unspeakable evils on both sides. We allow that war is an effect. It has its source in the corrupt passions of human nature. Like every other evil which afflicts humanity, it is begotten and born of sin. We do not imagine that any power we can employ will avail entirely to root out its deep-seated causes. But we think it not hopeless to attempt to diminish those causes, to restrain their action, and ultimately to abolish the custom of public war. And we ask if history does not justify the attempt? What does the whole history of civilization present, but a progress of subjecting the violent passions of men to moral restraint? The petty wars, which under the feudal system, rendered all Europe for ages, a scene of confusion and bloodshed, — have they not entirely disappeared in the progress of civilization? Or to take a striking case in the history of Scotland. How comparatively recent is the time when that country was the theatre of perpetual and sanguinary conflicts between its numerous hostile clans. These have all been brought to an end in the progress of opinion and under the influence of law. And may we not reasonably attempt to effect the same result on a larger scale? It is utterly vain, we grant, to think of putting an end to war, while all its causes are actively at work in the corrupt passions of men; yet we think we are justified in the hope, that by combining and directing all the influences available to this end, the violent passions of men may be restrained; and national differences, no less than those of individuals and of smaller communities, may be subjected to some mode of peaceful adjustment.

In regard to the necessity and lawfulness of *defensive war*, dif-

ferent opinions are held among the Friends of Peace. The question, by many of our Societies, is left undetermined.

As an individual, I confess it is a question not without difficulty. To deny absolutely, on moral grounds, the right of repelling invasion and slaughter by taking up arms, involves, necessarily, the absolute denial of the right of self defence in individual cases. To take an instance which goes to the bottom of the whole subject. Suppose an individual assaulted by his neighbor, who from malice and hatred seeks to destroy his life. What does the spirit of the Gospel require? We may readily allow that it might prompt him to escape, or to disarm his foe, and thus save the lives of both. But suppose neither of these is possible—that he must resist and take the life of his enemy or yield up his own. Now would the Christian spirit, in its highest exercise, prompt him to yield up his own life, rather than take the life of his foe, or, would it allow him to preserve himself by destroying the other? The answer to this, decides the question concerning the moral right of defensive war.

On the one hand, it is common to observe, that taking life is not in itself absolutely wrong;—that the man may kill his aggressor without hatred or revenge, but with sorrow and regret;—that the preservation of life is, within certain limits, a clear duty;—and, moreover, that the *instinct* of self-preservation, though not an absolute moral guide, since duty may sometimes require us to risk and to sacrifice our lives,—is yet in favor of the right of self-defence, and therefore must modify those passages of the New Testament from which the duty of non-resistance is deduced;—and finally, that to construe those passages with literal strictness would not only forbid the taking of life in the case supposed, but would prohibit any resistance, such as the attempt to overpower and disarm the assassin.

On the other hand, it is equally obvious to remark, that duty, whatever it be, is worth more than life. It is better for the man to do his duty, than to save his life. If the precepts and the spirit of Christianity forbid the taking of life in self-defence,—then neither the fact that they run counter to the instinctive love of life, nor any regard to the *consequences* of obedience, are to outweigh them. Whatever is our duty is on the whole best for

us. Obedience is wisest and safest, in the large view of our welfare. On our part will then remain only an implicit reliance on Providence for protection, in all cases where we should do wrong in defending ourselves. And if life be the sacrifice to duty, it is well sacrificed, no less in this case, than in the numerous other supposable cases. That Christianity does require the sacrifice in the case supposed, is argued from the fact that the peaceful precepts of the New Testament are directed precisely against the principle of self-defence. They do not merely forbid *aggression*, but *resistance*. It is precisely when we are assailed by violence or injury, that these precepts come in, commanding endurance, forbearance, peace. These precepts are universal in their form, making no exception in favor of cases where life is assailed. Add to this, the unquestionable fact, that those precepts were thus understood in the earliest times of Christianity,—that the Gospel was, in the first ages, universally and practically construed as a doctrine of non-resistance. To test this construction, it may be said, it is supposable, that the true Christian spirit—the spirit of forbearance and love, if in its highest and purest exercise, might prompt the individual, in the case given, to sacrifice his life rather than destroy the assassin;—and that we should pronounce it a noble disposition. And the question would then come up, whether the highest and purest exercise of Christian love is not the *duty* of all;—whether all ought not to be actuated by a disposition, which we cannot but pronounce admirable?

I have thus, I believe, presented every material consideration on each side of this question. It is a question however which I shall not attempt to decide. It would be difficult to construct any argument likely to carry absolute conviction to all, even the clearest and fairest minds. One thing however is important to be remarked, that even if the right and duty of resisting and taking the life of the assassin in the case supposed, were demonstrated beyond all doubt, the principle would fail to justify the greatest portion of what are called defensive wars. In its strict application, it would make war allowable only to repel invasion and instant slaughter. And it is seldom the analogy of the two cases is so complete, that nothing remains for a people but to

kill or to be killed; while wars for the balance of power, for the assertion of technical rights, and many others which have been comprehended under the title of defensive wars, would be left without any justification on the ground we have supposed.

On the whole, it seems to me that we cannot refuse the homage of our respect and admiration to the self-denying principles of the Friends and Moravians, and to the many instances of their heroic constancy and endurance. As to the practical *consequences* of the principle of non-resistance, it must likewise be allowed, that so far as these have become actual matters of history,—as in the settlement of Pennsylvania, and in the case of the Irish Friends and Moravians,—they go to neutralize the fears of those who imagine that the adoption of this principle would only invite aggression, and subject the peaceful to the brutal passions of the violent, and to recommend it even as a principle of protection from injury.

But on the question of defensive war, different opinions are, and probably must continue to be held. It has been left untouched by this Society. And wisely. For difficult in its abstract form, its decision would become comparatively unimportant, if the principles announced by this Society should universally prevail.

Leaving therefore this question let us pass on to another consideration to which I have adverted, and which probably has no small influence in begetting distrust in regard to the success of our exertions. This is the impression, that such is the actual condition of mankind, war is, and must continue to be, a necessary evil; and must be regarded as an ordination of Providence for the rectification and advancement of human nature.

We by no means admit, in its unqualified form, the doctrine that war is an ordination of Providence. None the less however do we devoutly adore that Supreme Power, which working unseen behind the visible series of events, has in every age brought "good out of evil," and made "the wrath of man to praise Him." The Providence of God has unquestionably *over-ruled* war as the means of teaching many salutary lessons, and of conferring important benefits upon mankind. But we do

not doubt, on this account, that our exertions are in harmony with his ultimate purposes, and will meet with his favor and blessing to the full accomplishment of our aims.

We are certainly, in a sense, Optimists. But ours is not the optimism of indifference, nor of mere philosophy; but of Christian faith and hope. We have no doubt that the Most High has been ever engaged in conducting the Education of the human race. We have no doubt that all the great events of the world have been controlled by him as parts of that education, whose progress is not to be measured by the developments of a day or a year. It is the work of generations and ages. We believe that the movement of the human race is, in the large view, evermore onward, that periods of apparent pause or turning backward, are but the condition and mode of final advancement. The progress of the river is varied with many a shifting of its current, many a circuitous reach, and often apparent return towards its source; but its destination is to the ocean, which it gains as surely as though its course had been direct. In this view, it must unquestionably be allowed that war has been rendered subservient to the advancement of man, notwithstanding its guilt, and the complicated miseries it has spread over the face of the earth. Under the Providence of God, war has undoubtedly often served to purify the moral atmosphere, just as the conflict of the great elementary agents of Nature, has ministered to the preservation of the physical world. Looking at the corruption of man, we can perceive that the struggle and counteraction of conflicting elements has been the condition and means of rectification and advancement. In the midst of all the scenes of carnage, and crime, and woe, which human wickedness has caused, we devoutly believe the Most High has been silently working for the good of man. The guilt is of man. The miseries are of his own creation. But the good is only of the Lord.

These principles interpret all the past history of the world. I shall apply them to a particular portion of it, which I have selected not only as presenting a vivid illustration of these principles, but also as giving encouragement to those very hopes which we entertain as Friends of Peace. This is the reason

why I shall ask your indulgence in presenting this topic a little more at large.

If ever the earth presented a spectacle from which we may suppose the good angels shrunk affrighted, while devils shouted for joy, it was during the French Revolution. Yet what salutary lessons, by a terrible discipline, has man been made to learn!

The first period of the French Revolution presented the wildest and most terrific tempest of the moral elements that was ever seen. Heaven and earth—things human and divine, were confounded in the tremendous shock. The principle of evil seemed at one time to reign supreme. Europe and the world stood aghast. But never before had the elements of such a struggle been accumulated. For a long course of years corruption and oppression had reigned—excessive civilization without due cultivation in the higher ranks, ignorance and debasement in the lower. There were the frivolous and profligate few, and the degraded many. Along with this, both as cause and effect, was materialism in philosophy, selfishness in morals and infidelity in religion;—a cold sneering irony at every thing invisible and spiritual in man, a bitter hatred of every thing sacred and immortal in human nature. Never before was the moral atmosphere so loaded with pestilence and death. Never were the moral powers so clogged under this suffocating influence. Some desperate convulsion might have been foreseen. And it came. These terrible elements were all let loose to spend their fury upon the old time-cemented fabric of despotism. The explosion was fearful. It shook the earth. And many looked on, expecting that the whole fabric of social and moral order would be riven and shattered to fragments. Yet what have been the consequences?

There was indeed for a time a *re-action*. The spirit of Freedom, after triumphing over old oppression, rushed onward to a wild and terrible anarchy, and then in its recoil, came back first to subjection to a military chieftain, and then quietly yielded itself at last to be chained to the car of ancient legitimacy. And some of the sanguine friends of human freedom sighed to think it should end thus: while despots and their minions chuckled in the belief that the dangerous spirit of liberty and revolution was

laid forever. But both were wrong. For what even in 1816, at the time of the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty,—what had then been gained? Much every way. In government, the charter had been gained. In the *true* spirit of *rational* freedom, as *distinguished from licentious anarchy, and necessarily implying public order*, much more had been gained, important for France and for the moral progress of the human race. The salutary fruits of these lessons have been seen in all the subsequent changes of France. The pestilence of the moral atmosphere moreover, was dispersed. Its deadly influence has ceased to clog the springs of moral life. Mankind breathed a freer and more healthful inspiration. Infidelity and cold material skepticism were exorcised. As at the touch of Ithuriel's spear, its hellish origin and lineaments were exposed to view, and the fiend

“fled
Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of night.”

France has ever since been full of spiritual thinkers.* Much

*These statements concerning the present state of French Philosophy, will perhaps, to some appear exaggerated and even altogether untrue. I am aware that opinions, very different from those I have expressed, are quite current with many in this country. At the same time, I have no doubt, the representation I have made is correct. Any one may be satisfied of this who will seek for proof in those things which afford the surest indications,—in the lectures and writings of those eminent men, who now give the tone and fashion to French thinking, just as Voltaire, Diderot, Condorcet, and others, did in the former period. Look over the list of the distinguished men of letters in Paris,—*de Gerando, Royer, Collard, B. Constant, Vielemain, Guizot, Cousin, Jouffroy, &c.* Though some of the first mentioned are recently dead, yet all may be spoken of together in the present tense, in estimating the state of French thinking. Are these men disciples and eulogists of Voltaire, Diderot, and Condorcet? Are they partizans of Sensualism and Materialism in philosophy, and of infidelity in religion? No. They are strenuous opposers of such views; they are decided and able defenders of a spiritual philosophy and religion. Now it is to be remembered, these men stand in the place once occupied by the materialists and infidels of a former age. They indicate the tone and fashion of French thinking on these subjects. No one can doubt this who knows the brilliant reputation they enjoy, the applauding auditories which crowd the lectures delivered by some of them, and the eagerness

light has been gained on all the great civil and social interests of man. Human nature, in that wild and fearful conflict, took many steps onward in the deep conviction, not only of its rights,

with which their writings are sought and read. Of the character of their teaching and influence, take the following specimen from Cousin's *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Philosophie*, *Lec. v. p. 18*. "What is the theory [of the Deity, philosophically contemplated] which I have just stated? It is the very foundation of the Christian religion. The God of Christians, is both threefold and one. * * * The doctrine of the Trinity is the revelation of the Divine Essence, illuminated in its whole depth, and brought within the scope of thought." Again, *Histoire de la Philosophie au 18me Siecle*, vol. i. p. 55; speaking of Christianity—"The religion of *God incarnate* is a religion which on the one hand raises the soul towards heaven, towards its absolute principle, towards another world, and which at the same time teaches what its work and its duties are in this world, and upon this earth. The religion of the *God-man* gives an infinite value to humanity."

Now who could have been found thirty or forty years ago in Paris, to give utterance to such sentiments in a course of public lectures on philosophy? Who would have come to hear them? Or if an audience could have been gathered, would not such views have been received with hissing and execration? Yet these lectures, in 1828 and 1829, were attended by more than three thousand auditors composing the very *elite* of Paris Society. They were heard with unbounded delight and applause; and so eager was the public curiosity, that abstracts of them were daily published in the papers, the lectures were taken down in short hand at their delivery, corrected by the author, published weekly, and propagated to every part of France. These facts certainly indicate that a great change has taken place in French thinking. If the reader will consult the writings of *B. Constant*, *Royer*, *Collard Joffroy*, *Laromiguiere*, and many others, that might be named, who enjoy a brilliant reputation, he will find them pervaded by a similar spirit. Unquestionably there is still a great amount of materialism and infidelity in France, especially among certain physicians and naturalists. But infidelity and materialism have lost altogether the predominance they formerly had. They do not occupy the high places as before. The current is in the other direction. This appears even in the tone adopted by the advocates of materialism. *Broussais*, a distinguished physician and physiologist, and I believe the only eminent writer who has lately appeared on the side of materialism,—in the preface to his work, *de l'Irritation et de la Folie*, (Paris 1828,) feels himself compelled to protest against the unpopularity of the Sensual philosophy, and complains that the advocates of materialism cannot now obtain a fair hearing. In short, from every quarter,

but of its duties; and what is more important still, of its dangers also, and its needful cautions.

Here then is a striking instance how, under Providence, a fierce and bloody struggle has been made to contribute to the advancement of truth and right. And we freely allow, in general, that it is a poor view to consider war with exclusive reference to its evils. Certainly we cannot be charged with such a fanatic and exclusive holding of the principles of peace, as to be rendered blind to every thing that may be urged on the other

proof is abundant, that if materialism and infidelity are not extinct in France, yet their *reign* is at an end; the spirit of Voltaire, Condorcet, and Helvetius,—the spirit of scorn and hatred of the spiritual and the divine, is quelled. The authority of those minds is broken. The literary men and philosophers of the present day in France, are no longer like the *philosophes* of the last century. A band of brilliant and accomplished minds have sprung up, imbued with a far different and higher spirit, and by their labors in science and philosophy, are exerting a salutary influence on the French mind, in favor of a spiritual philosophy and a divine religion. The reader will find many interesting things on this subject in *Damiron's Essai sur l'Histoire de la Philosophie en France, au dix neuvieme Siecle*. Paris, 1828.

So much for French *philosophy*. In regard to the *lighter literature* of France, it must be allowed that its aspect for three years past, has not been so pleasing. It has strongly reflected the political and social fermentation which has existed since the revolution of 1830. The English reader will obtain a view of its character from the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 18, and the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 116. He will perceive that notwithstanding the wild and morbid spirit, the cynicism, the scenes of blended horror, mirth and atrocity which appear in the dramatic and romantic writings of *Janin, Balzac, Rabou, Chasles, &c.* yet the lighter literature of the present day, is by no means "a professedly *infidel* literature like that of the 18th century." In regard to these strange and exaggerated creations, "it is a singular and consoling feature, that at the bottom of them all, lies the admission of the necessity of a faith,—a religion." In short, it is a period of ferment. It is *transitional*. The agitation will disappear. In the mean time, there are writers, such as *Victor Hugo*, and *Lamartine*, who "pour forth their inspirations from a loftier and more sequestered seat." The latter is, by universal consent, admitted to be the Poet of France; and his verses are imbued with "a pervading spirit of religion, with images and thoughts, re-ascending to that heaven from which they had their birth."

side. We have fully allowed every thing that can be fairly claimed. We are therefore entitled to a candid hearing, when we dissent altogether from the conclusion which has been drawn from the past,—that war must always continue to be a necessary condition of human advancement,—at least until, by an influence nothing short of an immediate intervention of the Deity, a radical change is effected in human nature.

Contrary to all this, while we admit and adore the over-ruling Providence of the Most High, in bringing good out of evil, we still maintain, not only that war is a brutal spectacle, shocking to the sensibilities and repugnant to the spirit of the Gospel,—but a spectacle, which we believe God has decreed shall one day cease over the whole earth. **MANKIND OUGHT TO BE SUCH, AS TO EXEMPT THEM ALIKE FROM THE EVILS, AND FROM THE BENEFITS OF WAR. AND SUCH THEY WILL BECOME.** We have full faith in the glorious destination of the human race. *The mission of War, as an element in the education of man, permitted by God because of man's corruption, is, we believe, in christendom comparatively ended; a new and brighter era is destined to begin, whose spirit will with the extension of Christianity, prevail over the earth.*

Nay we go farther, and affirm that out of War, God has wrought the fruits of Peace. The wars of christendom for the last three centuries have, many of them, been among the causes, under God, of bringing mankind to that state of advancement in which the dearest interests of humanity may henceforward win their final triumph with but little more recourse to arms. This is especially true of the French revolution and the wars that have followed and grown out of it. The wars of this period are rich in the fruits of peace. For this reason it is, as I before observed, that I have brought this period so distinctly into view. The position which I have taken, I shall have occasion to illustrate and justify more particularly in another place.

In the mean time I go on to say again, that in bringing in the day of universal and perpetual peace, which we believe will come,—we expect no signal intervention of God's immediate agency. God gives us no warrant to expect the end without the means; and he gives us no means which exempt us from the ne-

cessity of our own best exertions. The advancement of our race, we conceive, is henceforth chiefly to be effected by the influence of public opinion,—the continued and extending action of moral power,—the power which results from enlightening and appealing to the moral nature of man, rectifying opinion, and combining and directing its force.

We have boundless faith in this agency. It has a perpetually self-multiplying nature. It propagates its movement in every direction from the centre of influence;—just as when you drop a pebble into the surface of the still, unruffled water, the concentric circles spread outward and outward ever enlarging from the spot where it fell. It is an agency comparatively new in the world. It is but recently that its unlimited capabilities began to be dreamed of; for it is but lately that its true nature began to be understood.

Would you have an illustration of this power? Take the efforts now making for the diffusion of Christianity. We look at them now merely as philosophers; and that man has but a poor title to the name of philosopher, who can overlook events which, in mere historical importance, have taken their place among the grandest phenomena of the age. Look then at the efforts for the extension of the Gospel. View them in all their *variety*,—in their *extent*,—in their *resources*,—and in the perfect *system* which they have assumed. Look at this vast, yet compact system, combining, directing, and giving tenfold power to the exertions of more than twenty millions of persons, scattered throughout christendom, yet all working harmoniously together unto one common end. Look at what has been *effected* by this this system of operations. Translations of the Scriptures, and a multitude of other Christian documents, commenced and carried successfully through in almost every language of the earth;—numerous Christian establishments in almost every portion of the pagan world;—where thousands of persons are indefatigably devoted to the diffusion of the Word of Life, expounding its truths, gaining control of education around them, and planting the institutions of Christianity. And as you cast your eyes over all this wide-spread scene of hallowed activity, friends of Chris-

tiarity, who have contributed to its existence, you can exclaim in a different and happier than its original sense:

Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris!

Yet all this vast movement had its origin scarcely forty years ago. And it was humble enough. It began in the zeal of two or three comparatively obscure individuals in England, seconded at first only by a few in their circle likeminded with themselves,—attracting at the outset but little notice, yet gradually extending, until it has now assumed an undeniable importance in the eyes of statesmen and philosophers. It has challenged their attention as one of those great movements which, in its progress, seems destined to affect the condition of the world, and to which a respectful place must be given in their calculations of human affairs.

Now the secret of all this mighty system is the development of a practical principle which has slept in christendom since the primitive times of Christianity. This principle is that every Christian is responsible for the utmost exertion of his power in extending the Gospel over the earth. This principle, after slumbering for ages, except in the breasts of here and there an individual, has been seized upon, set in a strong light, and enforced on every conscience. It has obtained the authority of an acknowledged principle of Christian ethics; it is wrought into the ordinary movements of almost every Christian community, and into the habits of individual life; it is constantly strengthening and extending; and it will unquestionably continue, year by year, to sustain and to extend the vast and efficient system of operations which its development has called into action;—so that assuming, as we have every reason to do, the continued and increasing operation of this system, and joining with it the consideration of what has already been effected in the pagan world, together with what must naturally result from the self-multiplying influence of those effects,—we do not fear to assert, that on the ordinary grounds of human calculation, we have a rational assurance of the universal extension of Christianity at no remote period.

Here is a grand illustration of that moral power of which we spoke,—which results from enlightening and appealing to the moral nature of man. Here is a project for the fundamental revolution of the world, with the strongest conceivable obstacles, yet in forty years from its feeble commencement, vindicating its title to respect, by demonstrating the probability of its success.*

* For the sake of those, who from inattention to the actual history of this great system for the extension of Christianity, have not yet learned to estimate it as respectfully as they ought, and to whom therefore, the above conclusion may seem extravagant, I will here draw out a little more in detail, the *data* by which that conclusion is justified.

L. Exertions to diffuse Christianity.

Here are comprehended the great institutions of the Bible, the Missionary, and the Tract Societies, with other subsidiary institutions, existing in Christendom.

These institutions are established in America, England, protestant France, Switzerland, and Germany, in Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Russia.

In their *resources*, we estimate the wisdom, energy, and ability absorbed in the immediate direction and administration of these extended institutions,—supported in various ways by the co-operation of a fair proportion of all the names most distinguished in all those countries, for rank and character, talents and wealth, sustained by the benevolence and zeal of the best portion of all classes of the people. I am indebted to a friend distinguished for the extent and accuracy of his statistical information, who has examined this subject, for details, from which it appears, that the number of persons in *Christendom*, engaged in spreading the gospel, is from *twenty-one to twenty-two millions*. The amount of *money annually* contributed, is *two millions five hundred thousand dollars*.

The number of persons, in various parts of the *pagan world*, engaged in diffusing Christianity may be stated as follows:

Ordained Missionaries, Catechists, Native Preachers, &c.	700
Female Assistants,	700
Native School Teachers, (not accurately known, but at least,)	3000
Total,	4400
Or, four thousand, four hundred.	

I have dwelt thus long upon it, because I would derive from it, a lesson of faith, and hope, and manly energy in the good cause to which we are devoted. It is not indeed the only in-

The number of Missionary Stations, is	500
“ “ Mission Presses,	15
“ “ “ Seminaries for educating Teachers, &c.	13

Schools for the education of children are connected with the various Missionary stations.

Bible Societies.

There are in Europe, Asia, and America, *sixty* Bible Societies, who have printed or distributed nearly *fourteen million* copies of Bibles and Testaments. The British and Foreign Bible Society, have promoted the translation, printing, and distribution of the Scriptures in *one hundred, fifty-five* languages.

Tract Societies.

The number of publications circulated in foreign parts by these institutions, is not accurately ascertained. The London Religious Tract Society have circulated *one hundred and seventy million* of publications in *seventy* different languages. The American Tract Society have issued publications in *seven* different languages, to the number of nearly *twenty-nine millions*.

London Society,	170,000,000
American Society,	28,954,173

Total,	198,954,173
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Or, total by two Societies, nearly *one hundred and ninety-nine millions*.

A multitude of other Christian writings have been published and circulated by the missionaries in pagan countries. The American Tract Society last year paid *ten thousand* dollars to aid in the circulation of such publications, and have this year devoted *twenty thousand* dollars to the same object.

II. Prospects for the future.

1. There is no reason to believe that this great *system* of efforts will cease or relax, but every reason to believe, it will increase. For, 1st, the *conviction* referred to, that it is the duty of every Christian to promote the extension of Christianity, has obtained general *acknowledgment*.

stage of this kind of agency, which the history of the age presents.

I have said that we are looking to no miraculous divine inter-

2d. This conviction has been brought into indissoluble *alliance with these great Societies*, so that it has become acknowledged almost every where, that no Christian is at liberty to withhold his aid from these benevolent institutions. And, 3d. This conviction is not likely to die out or diminish, but to increase and extend; for it is wrought into the movements of Christian churches, and the habits of individual life, and is cherished and extended every year by the influences applied to this end, by these institutions through their direct and indirect agencies.

2. The *resources* of these institutions have been every year increasing, and there is every reason to believe they will continue to increase. Exact data on this point are not at hand. One instance may serve as a specimen. The American Board for Foreign Missions was formed in 1812. Its income the first year, by great exertion, was about *eleven hundred dollars*. Its income the last year, was about *one hundred and fifty thousand dollars*.

3. It is reasonable to predict, that its *efficiency* and *success* will constantly increase, from the increased power derived from the perfection to which the system of operations has been brought, so that with the same means, two-fold more can now be effected than before. Thus with increasing resources and increasing skill in applying them, we have a geometrical increase of power, constantly applied to this great object.

4. It is to be remembered, in looking to what has been effected during the forty years since this system of operations commenced, that a great portion of this period has been occupied with *preliminary* labors, whose effect is to be looked for hereafter, and added to the calculation of all that may be expected from the continued and extending operation of the system. Here is to be reckoned the preliminary work of translating the Bible into almost every language, and in many instances creating a written language from the rude elements of a spoken dialect, and even teaching the first elements of civilization and the common arts of life: of getting possession of the sources of education, planting the institutions of Christianity, and sowing the seeds of divine truth. Now it is to be borne in mind that all these preliminary labors are to bear fruit, thirty, sixty, or an hundred fold in time to come. Every Bible, and every Christian document, sent abroad,—every establishment planted,—every child instructed,—every convert from paganism made, are so many influences for the extension of Christianity, independent of the future exertions of the great institutions of Christendom,—influences en-

vention to effect the abolition of war. We are looking solely to those moral influences, which under God's ordinary Providence, the Friends of Peace are able to foresee, or to create and combine. Vast as is our object, yet we believe it will be accomplished. We believe the Providence of God indicates in *what way* it may be accomplished. We expect it will be done by enlightening and rectifying the public mind,—by developing and applying the spirit of Christianity. By a continued and combined appeal to the moral sentiments and best interests of man, we trust to create such a state of opinion that the abolition of war, and the adoption of a peaceful policy, will be the natural result, among all the nations of christendom; and finally with the progress of civilization and Christian light, among all the nations the earth.

But we are asked, what we propose to substitute in place of war for the adjustment of national differences. We freely answer, some great INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERACY,—some Supreme Council of nations,—constituting a tribunal of last resort, where the differences of nations may be decided on principles of moderation and justice.

This is an idea not altogether new in the world. Something like it has already existed in history. It has not only seized the imaginations of poets and speculators, like Fenelon, and St. Pierre, but once gravely occupied the plans of that great monarch Henry the IVth of France, but with his other schemes was cut short by death.*

dowed with the power of perpetual and ever increasing re-production and self-multiplication.

Now looking at the history of this movement from its feeble beginning forty years ago, contemplating it in its present aspect,—in its results and resources,—and combining every element which it contains for the calculation of the future, we say there is reason to expect the universal extension of Christianity at no remote period;—and that without referring to the predictions of the Bible which assure us of this result, and without looking for any signal interposition of Divine Agency.

* Those who have written on this subject, have frequently referred to the *Amphyctionic* Council in Greece, the *Diet* of the old German em-

The outlines of such a confederation are not difficult to conceive; and why should not such a project be realized?

The most material difficulty in the minds of enlightened men, in the way of its adoption in christendom, unquestionably exists in the apprehension that there are inestimable rights of man still held in subjection, which we cannot expect will be conceded without a conflict,—that there are fundamental interests of humanity which cannot be secured without further war. Let us look closely at this subject. We have already allowed that there have been wars which may properly be called wars of *ideas*, wars for the defence of principles of vital importance to the welfare of humanity, and which, with all their crime and misery, have yet under Providence, contributed to the establishment of truth and the advancement of mankind. Of this sort unquestionably were the Bohemian war of the sixteenth century, and the conflicts preceding the English revolution.

But looking at christendom in its present state, what principles are there which we can conceive as possible to involve a war of this kind? There are only two such principles,—the principle of Religious Liberty, and the principle of Civil Freedom. But the conflict for religious liberty has been so far fought out, that no more public wars are to be apprehended on this

pire, the confederation of the *United Provinces* of Holland, of the *Swiss Cantons*, and of the *United States* of America, as cases of something like what might be adopted on a larger scale, among the nations of Christendom. Be this as it may, certainly so far as authority should avail to secure a respectful examination of the project, it is not wanting. The following passage is from the 17th Annual Report of the British Society for the promotion of permanent and universal peace. "That man must have more courage than judgment, who can reject as a chimera which cannot be realized, the proposal for a Court of Nations, or Arbitral Council, to preserve the peace of the world, which has received the sanction of four Presidents, twenty-nine Senators, thirty-four Representatives, and thirty-nine Generals of the United States, besides others in judicial situations and of high respectability. Great weight is given to this sanction by the fact that the principal number are not members of Peace Societies, nor pledged to their sentiments; their approval of the proposal is therefore to be considered upon political and moral grounds, without resting the question on the lawfulness of War."

ground. If the principle has not yet gained its full and rightful supremacy in Europe, yet the results of past conflicts and the progress of mankind, have put the people on a footing to consummate the victory henceforward by the force of opinion. The arm of persecution if not destroyed, is paralyzed, another warlike blow need not be struck: it will perish by natural decay.

There remains then only the principle of civil freedom. The condition of Europe in respect to this principle, presents an obstacle to the immediate adoption of our plan, which may be stated in the words of La Fayette. "As on this (the European) side of the Atlantic," says he, "aristocracy and despotism are in incessant war with the rights of nations and of men, I do not see how a peace making system may be obtained until that fundamental warfare is put to an end—then indeed good sense and self-interest will suffice to remove the chances of war."

Now unquestionably the spirit of rational freedom is to a great degree kept down in Europe by the strong arm of force. There is a conflict between despotism and the principle of liberty: between governments and the people. Until this conflict ceases, the adoption of our project can scarcely be expected. It is a conflict which will probably involve strife and bloodshed for some time to come. Yet we are confident that the state of the world promises the victory to the free principle. And there are many influences won from past times, which will contribute to diminish the horrors, and shorten the period of this conflict. The free principle, as we have before intimated, has already secured a great advantage from the struggles of former times. Many rights have been gained;—and the people, even in the most despotic governments, have an influence which was formerly unknown.

Besides, it is to be specially remarked, among the valuable fruits of the French revolution to which we referred, that the free principle has not only gained *power*; but it has been *purified* from the *fanatic* and *licentious* character, which really made it dangerous to the order and welfare of nations; which rendered it formidable and odious to the governments,—which gave them their justest grounds and fairest pretexts for crushing it by force, and enabled them to enlist in their favor all the influences they have

employed to retard its progress. But the disgusting alliance between the spirit of Freedom, and Jacobinism, and Atheism, has been dissolved. The terrible lessons of the French revolution have taught impressively the distinction between liberty and anarchy. They have impressed a conviction never to be effaced, that wild unbridled licentiousness, under the names of liberty and equality, is fraught with a thousand fold more curses to the people than the most iron despotism. They have demonstrated that freedom is no blessing without public order,—that rational freedom cannot exist without virtue,—nor virtue without religion. The principle of rational freedom thus purified, will move onward to its rightful supremacy with far less obstruction. It will enlist a perpetually augmenting force of opinion. The warlike struggle will be less fierce and the conflict will be sooner ended.

Whenever this shall be ended what is there to prevent the adoption of the pacific method of settling differences, to which we have referred? The differences which will then arise, will not be between governments and the people; but between nation and nation. Need we despair of the adoption of some ultimate arbiter of these differences, besides the appeal to arms? Unquestionably there has been great progress in the pacific spirit. Events have occurred within the last year, which a half century ago, would have deluged Europe in blood. We are inclined to think that the last war for *succession* has now been fought; certain we are that a war of *conquest* will never again be tolerated in christendom. The career of Napoleon was the last expression of the spirit of conquest and military glory. The boundless egotism and tremendous energy of his character, have taught the world a lesson it would not otherwise so soon have learned. The eyes of the people have been effectually opened to the folly of suffering themselves to be dragged along in millions to be offered as a sacrifice to the glory and ambition of the selfish conqueror. The stupendous convulsions of Napoleon's career likewise alarmed all the governments of Europe, if not into a conviction of the moral *enormity*, yet into a wholesome conviction of the *inexpediency*, of sustaining any longer the principle of conquest. The declaration of the allied sovereigns was the expres-

sion of this conviction. Wars of conquest are at an end in Europe:

The causes of war have thus become greatly narrowed. The differences between nations will hereafter chiefly arise out of commercial relations. But we need not despair of the final adoption of some pacific method of settling these differences. Without accepting Dr. Franklin's opinion that "there never was good war, or a bad peace"—we hazard nothing in saying, that between commercial nations, there never was a difference worth a war, even if there was no other way of settling it. But the Friends of Peace have indicated a mode of adjusting these differences, by the establishment of some great international tribunal. Nothing, we believe, is wanting to ensure its efficiency and success, but its adoption by a few of the great Christian nations. Even if its actual operation should, like every thing human, be attended with something of imperfection—if it should, like our great judicial system, sometimes work with unequal effect,—it is a thousand times better than the resort to war. And consider all its blessed effects. The boundless crimes and miseries of war would be prevented. Its immense expenditures would be saved. If all the industry now absorbed to sustain the warlike establishments of christendom could be turned into a peaceful channel, what might not be done to develop the resources, to improve the face of the earth,—to facilitate communication and perfect the arts of life. Can we doubt that sooner or later, the eyes of nations and governments may be turned to this prospect? Has there not already been a progress towards this result? Do we not perceive it in the increase of *negociation*,—in the much greater frequency with which national differences are now settled by amicable treaty than formerly? Above all, do we not see it, in the instances of *arbitration* between nations, which have already taken place?

It cannot be doubted that the increase of the industrious and commercial interests of christendom have effected great changes in its condition. The tendency of the industrious and commercial spirit is to render the people averse to war. It has already exerted a prodigious influence in creating a pacific disposition and policy. Its continual extension promises to give perpetually increasing strength to the spirit of peace.

When we add to this, all the influence which may be expected from the extension of the true spirit of the Gospel,—from its development and application to this subject,—from that moral power which is springing up and combining in this direction;—can the hopes of the Friends of Peace be regarded as visionary? Are our schemes impracticable? We think not. We think we have vindicated our claim to the hopeful and active co-operation of all who wish well to our enterprise.

I had intended to offer some remarks on the various *modes* in which the influence of the Friends of Peace, may be directed to the advancement of our great object. A few hints however, is all that the time will now allow. In general, it must be borne in mind that the revolution at which we aim is to be brought about by the united activity of the Friends of Man. The subject of war must be brought to the test of Christian principle. Its follies and its enormities must be displayed. A combined appeal must be made to the moral nature, and to the enlightened self-interest of man; until a strength of opinion is created which will overpower the passions and illusions, by which this hideous custom is supported. I cannot forbear to advert more particularly to two points of the utmost importance. The efforts of the Friends of Peace should be especially directed to purify the literature and the education of christendom. It is here that the spirit of war is cherished. The literature of Christian Europe is to a great extent thoroughly anti-christian and pagan. It has been poisoned by the detestable spirit of war. It spreads a delusion over its real features: and history, and poetry, and fiction, with deceitful splendor, cover and conceal its true hatefulness. The imagination and feelings are deluded by false associations, till even woman's gentle nature is perverted, and the shocking spectacle of war loses its horror in the admiration of its false accompaniments.

Under these influences and in the sight of all the imposing pageantry of warlike spectacles, our children are educated,

—— the amiable vice,

Hid in magnificence and drown'd in state,
Loses the fiend: receives the sounding name

Of glorious War! and through the admiring throng
 Uneurs'd, the ornamented murderers move.

Now the exertions of the Friends of Peace should be incessantly directed to the formation of a purer literature. The pernicious influence of an unchristian literature should be met, and neutralized, and overpowered by a Christian literature,—by Christian history, and morals, poetry and fiction.

All the sources of education should be promptly occupied, all its influences should be purified, until a deep conviction is produced, that what “is highly esteemed among men, is an abomination in the eyes of the Lord.”

In fine, to adopt the eloquent language of one who has worthily treated this subject: “let one take up the question of war in its principle, and make the full weight of his severity rest upon it and upon all its abominations. Let another take up the question of war in its consequences, and bring his every power of graphical description to the task of presenting an awakened public with an impressive detail of its cruelties, and its horrors. Let another neutralize the poetry of war, and dismantle it of all those bewitching splendors which the hand of misguided genius has thrown over it. Let another tell with irresistible argument how the Christian ethics of a nation is as one with the Christian ethics of its humblest individual. And, let another teach the world a truer and more magnanimous path to national glory than any country of the world has yet walked in.”*

Thus let the Friends of Peace go on, in their several spheres and according to their ability working together for the accomplishment of our glorious end. If ever we are tempted to despond, let us be quickened by the thought of God’s approbation and the certainty of final success. The nations of the earth shall be brought to dwell in peace together. As Christians, we have no doubt, That sacred word, on whose truth we rest, with perfect trust, our own infinite interests as immortal beings, assures us of the universal spread of the Gospel in its purity and power; and along with this, announces the universal preva-

* Chalmers.

lence of peace. When the shadow of a doubt can be cast on the trust-worthiness of those records on which we repose our immortal hopes,—then, and not till then, can our faith be shaken in the final, full accomplishment of the objects to which we are devoted.

The kingdom of the Redeemer is a kingdom of Peace. He is the Prince of Peace. And I remember that it is the day of his appearance on the earth. His coming was in peace. Over all the earth the sound of war was hushed. On the plains of Judea, under the clear and quiet heaven, the thoughtful shepherds sat, gazing at the silent glory and drinking the spirit of its beauty and repose.

“They see the glorious company of stars
Journeying in peace and beauty through the deep,
Shining in praise forever! looking down,
Each like a bright and calm intelligence—
There is no war among those sparkling hosts.
They go in silence through the great profound,
Each on his way of glory—they proclaim
The order and magnificence of Him
Who bade them roll in peace around his throne!”

Suddenly the brightness of the stars is lost in the heavenly glory shining around. The stillness is broken. But it is the voice of the Angels—the multitude of the heavenly host, pouring the music of celestial strains. Sweet and clear through the silence sound the accents of the heavenly anthem: GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST. ON EARTH, PEACE, AND GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN!

Then began the reign of Peace. O when shall it be complete! We see it in the vision of the latter day glory. The scene of surpassing loveliness is disclosed to our faith,—and the beautiful inscription written on it is—“they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and nations shall learn *war* no more.” Hasten that day, in its time, O Lord.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

HARTFORD COUNTY PEACE SOCIETY.

WE are happy in availing ourselves of the opportunity, by presenting another Annual Report, of calling the attention of the friends of universal Peace to a cause of high magnitude, deeply involving the present and eternal interests of the human family.

Confident of the adaptation of the blessed principles of the Gospel of Peace to the wants and woes of a fallen world—assured that obedience to its pacific and forbearing precepts is essential to the attainment of that pure and happy state of society which we profess to expect, we cannot cease to advocate our holy cause, until all whom God hath made of one blood to dwell on the face of the earth, shall live together in love and peace.

Earnestly desiring this happy era, we hail with joy, every indication of improvement of public opinion on this important subject. It is believed, that warring nations have learned, in some degree, by woful experience, the folly of a practice which divine truth declares to have its origin in the lusts of human depravity. Some of the disciples of the Prince of Peace are awaking from the delusion of attempting to reconcile principles so entirely opposite, as those of their Master and every system of carnal warfare. They are beginning to enquire, whether there is any moral difference between sending fire out of great guns, or calling it down from heaven, to consume their enemies? Whether he, who would do the former, would be deterred by any other consideration than want of power, from doing the latter?

Our hearts are encouraged, and our hands are strengthened, by the co-operation of our beloved brethren of other countries, in this blessed cause. There are many on the Isle of our fathers and on the European continent, whose principles and practices evince the sincerity of their prayers for universal peace. Their labors of love will not be in vain.

C. W. H.

"Jesus shall reign, where'er the Sun
Doth his successive journeys run."

The benevolent proposal of instituting a high court, to which may be referred, for equitable and final adjustment, all international disputes, deserves the serious consideration of "the powers that be," and of every friend of peace. It is hoped that measures may be adopted in different countries to call forth a public expression of the opinion of the people, and requests to their respective governments to adopt this pacific measure.

Our humble and imperfect labors as members of the Hartford County Peace Society, have been continued. Of Mr. Bacon's Address, 500 copies have been circulated. Of Mr. Yale's, 2000. 500 pamphlets, of various kinds have been loaned. The present number of members is 371. In the valued address of Mr. Hickok, delivered in presence of a numerous assembly, and published by the State Society, we find a powerful appeal to the understanding, the conscience, and the heart. O that men, claiming the character of rational and benevolent—claiming to be followers of the meek and lowly One, would attend to the evidence we offer them, for the sake of suffering humanity, in favor of the cause we advocate. O that they would not turn away from him that speaketh from heaven, peace on earth and good will to men, commanding us to love our enemies, and to do good to them who despitely use and persecute us.

In the holy providence of God, we have been called to mourn the departure from earthly scenes, of the President of this Society. His aid and actual service in the cause of Peace; his conversation on the heavenly theme, and his continued attempts to devise improved means to advance this noble object, proved to them who knew him as a fellow laborer, that the interest Mr. Cooke felt in the cause of universal peace, was of no ordinary character.

Another righteous, though afflictive dispensation, excites our solicitude and sympathy. We allude to the case of our much loved and highly esteemed Father in the cause of Peace, Mr. William Ladd, whose active labors have been considerably suspended by bodily indisposition. Let us pray that this devoted

servant of the Prince of Peace, may, if God permit, be restored to active service, and his life be prolonged for the advancement of an object which is so precious to his heart.

Friends of Peace! Friends of suffering humanity! our cause demands new efforts. Blessed are the peace makers. While some smile and others sneer at our humble labors, let us be comforted and stimulated to higher duty by the promise of him whose word shall not fail, though heaven and earth shall pass away.— Let us not be weary in well doing, for in due time we shall reap if we faint not.

HARTFORD COUNTY PEACE SOCIETY, *in account with* HENRY GREW.

Dr.

To balance of old account,	\$37 38
" Amount paid for printing 1500 Addresses and 500 Constitutions,	78 75
" Agent's commission and expenses,	17 18
" Paper, postages and book paid by agent,	1 85
" Mr. Grew, for sundry expenses,	2 90
" Balance carried to new account,	19 39
	<hr/> 157 38

Cr.

By amount collected from June 7, 1832, to Dec. 24, 1833, of members and donors,	\$141 26
" Mr. Yale's and Mr. Bacon's Addresses, sold,	16 12
	<hr/> 157 38

WM. WATSON, *Agent.*

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taken from the Building**

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